

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 04348 031315Z  
ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 NEAE-00 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00  
OMB-01 TRSE-00 IO-13 ACDA-12 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /097 W  
-----007169 031326Z /46

O R 031105Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6991  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
AMCONSUL LAHORE  
AMCONSUL KARACHI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
CINCPAC  
CINCEUR

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 4348

MILITARY ADDRESSEES ALSO FOR POLADS; LAHORE FOR DCM

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PINT, XD, IR, US, UR  
SUBJECT: PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT ANXIETIES GROWING OUT OF KABUL COUP

1. EVENTS IN KABUL DURING THE LAST WEEK DOMINATED CONVERSA-  
TION I HAD WITH FOREIGN ADVISOR AGHA SHAHI DURING CALL AT  
MFA ON 3 MAY. CONSULTATIONS ON RECOGNITION MATTERS ARE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 04348 031315Z

BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL.

2. AGHA SHAHI SAID THERE HAD BEEN A LONG MEETING WITH  
CHIEF MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR (CMLA) GEN ZIA LAST  
EVENING AT WHICH IT WAS THE "UNANIMOUS VIEW" THAT THE  
COUP LAST WEEK IN KABUL REPRESENTED AN "HISTORIC" EVENT  
WHICH HAD PRODUCED " A QUALITATIVELY NEW SITUATION;

AFGHANISTAN," HE SAID, Z HAS DISAPPEARED AS A BUFFER STATE (BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE REST OF SOUTH ASIA)...A SITUATION WHICH HAD EXISTED FOR MORE THAN A CENTURY." THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT IS NOW A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, HE OBSERVED, WITH 14 OF ITS NEW CABINET MEMBERS FULL-TIME COMMUNISTS. THAT CREATES A TOTALLY NEW SITUATION FOR PAKISTAN, WHICH, HE ASSERTED, IS NOW "CONTIGUOUS WITH THE USSR."

3. IN THE WEEKS AHEAD, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR PAKISTAN (WITH ITS FRIENDS) TO CONSIDER THE IMPACT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH ENABLE THE SOVIET UNION TO EXERT GREAT PRESSURE DIRECTLY ON PAKISTAN ACROSS A "FRONTIER WHICH CANNOT BE SEALED." IRAN'S SITUATION, HE ADDED, IS SIMILAR, WITH THE USSR NOW ABLE--AS PART OF ITS "GRAND STRATEGY OF ENCIRCLEMENT"--TO PUT THE SQUEEZE ON IRAN ON THREE SIDES. HE ALSO SEES IN THE KABUL DEVELOPMENTS A FURTHER "LEAP FOWARD" IN THE SOVIET BID (AS SEEN ALSO IN THE HORN OF AFRICA) TO GAIN POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE ASTRIDE THE WORLD'S PETROLEUM LIFELINES.

4. SHAHI DESCRIBED KABUL COUP AS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, REQUIRING NEW ASSESSMENTS IN THE REGION; NEW GOVERNMENT IS WORSE THAN GOP'S WORST FEARS, IN THAT IT MEANS THAT SOVIET POWER CAN NOW BE "DIRECTLY TO BEAR ON PAKISTAN." HE SAID HE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS THIS NEW SITUATION IN HIS MEETINGS WITH IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KHALATBARY IN SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 04348 031315Z

TEHRAN ON THE 8TH AND/OR 9TH WITH SECRETARY VANCE WHEN THEY MEET IN JUNE IN CONNECTION WITH THE SSOD IN NEW YORK. HE URGED OTHER HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS AS WELL.

5. HE SAID IT WILL BE VERY IMPORTANT FOR PAKISTAN TO ENGAGE IN "DEEP DISCUSSION" WITH IRAN, WITH SAUDI ARABIA, AND WITH THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE NEW SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN. HE ESPECIALLY WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THE US ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AND WHAT, IN FACT, WE PERCEIVE TO BE PAKISTAN'S OPTIONS "TO ENSURE AGAINST THE CONTINGENCY OF A SHARP DETERIORATION OF PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN." HE IS ESPECIALLY WORRIED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A RESURRECTION OF THE PUSHTUNISTAN ISSUE, GIVEN THE AFGHAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S WELL-KNOWN OPPOSITION TO FORMER PRESIDENT DAOUD'S POLICY OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN.

6. RETURNING AGAIN TO THE THEME OF OPTIONS, HE SAID THAT PAKISTAN NEEDS TO DETERMINE WHAT OPTIONS IT HAS, AND WHAT MODUS VIVENDI IS INDICATED.

7. AGHA SHAHI EXPRESSED CONCERN AT RAPIDITY OF INDIAN

RECOGNITION OF NEW REGIME IN KABUL. HE RECALLED THAT WHEN DAOUD SEIZED POWER IN 1973, PAKISTAN HAD BEEN CONCERNED AT PROSPECT THEN OF DEVELOPMENT OF A "DELHI-KABUL-MOSCOW AXIS" TO PAKISTAN'S DISADVANTAGE; AS EVENTS WORKED OUT, GOP FEARS HAD PROVED UNWARRANTED. HOWEVER, DELHI'S QUICK RECOGNITION RAISES THESE PAKISTANI FEARS ANEW, SINCE INDIAN ACTION APPEARS TO GOP TO BE KNEE JERK REACTION RATHER THAN A CONSIDERED JUDGEMENT. THE INDIAN DECISION, WARMTH PFR RECENT DELHI TALKS NOTWITHSTANDING, MAY "LEAVE US BACK AT SQUARE ONE" (DETAILS OF AGHA SHAHI'S COMMENTS TO HIS VISIT TO DELHI BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL).

8. I SHARED WITH HIM OUR OWN PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENTS OF THE REGIME IN KABUL, SUGGESTING THAT IT IS STILL EARLY TO  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ISLAMA 04348 031315Z

MAKE ANY FIRM GUESSES ON HOW AFGHANISTAN'S NEW RULERS WILL CONDUCT THEIR AFFAIRS. WE AGREE THAT KABUL GOVERNMENT IS A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, BUT WE STILL DO NOT KNOW THE MIX OF COMMUNISM--IN TERMS OF SUBSERVIENCE TO MOSCOW--AND AFGHAN NATIONALISM. I SAID I THOUGHT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL EXPEND MUCH OF ITS INTIAL EFFORTS AT CONSOLIDATING ITS INTERNAL POSITION AND THAT ITS POLICY INTENTIONS ON REGIONAL MATTERS, AS WELL AS ITS INTERNATIONAL ORIENTATION MORE BROADLY, MAY NOT BE CLEAR IN THE SHORT RUN. I ENDORSED HIS DESIRE FOR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS AND CONTINUING EXCHANGE OF ASSESSMENTS AND SAID I WOULD REPORT HIS VIEWS TO WASHINGTON.  
HUMMEL

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT OVERTHROW, FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978ISLAMA04348  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/993e23a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014